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there is light laughter and gay voices. One group of men is at the men's house. Lovers have gone into the privacy of the deep bush, which even the moon cannot penetrate. The evening passes happily for everyone and bedtime comes close to midnight.

The days are full, but not hurried. In addition to the normal work there are the many feasts to prepare for, dances to be rehearsed for coming rites, and other preparations for ritual activities, which consume a large amount of time. To-day, also, the native is compelled to keep the road in good condition, and this work lessens the time for his own labour.[1] The native habit is to take time off when he is very tired or has nothing to do. For instance, after a strenuous three or four days of mortuary rites he sleeps for a whole day. But I did not see any healthy men or women spend many days in idleness. They were busy, with suitable intervals for leisure, and, on the whole, they lead an active life, but one without hurry or tension. No exact hour or day is set far in advance for an elaborate rite, but when the preparations are finished, the rite will be carried out.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

This daily life is set within a social structure which may be likened to an elastic configuration, functioning as the individuals live within it. In this configuration are certain fundamental elements which are chosen for detailed observation and study. These elements are the groupings of people on the basis of kinship, locality, and sex. The place of an individual within the structure and his various relationships with other people are largely determined (in so far as they are socially determined) by blood relationships, place of residence, and sex.

[1] He is required to give three days a week for this labour.

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intercourse. "At first," said Tomerare, "she cried, but after that she liked it, and now there is no more shame between us." Now it is said, "*Lulisi e maisi sa*," "the two are truly married." There is no feast or rite to mark the actual consummation of the marriage, for this is a private matter with which society is not concerned.

It has already been mentioned that, should the girl have just reached puberty, six or eight moons, or even more, may elapse before the marriage is consummated. It is unthinkable that a girl should have sexual relations with anyone else during this period. Her husband should be the first. But it is admitted that the "unthinkable" occurs occasionally. In that case the "other man" makes a payment of *isera* to the wife, which she in turn gives to her husband. But this, as we shall see, is the usual pattern of behaviour for all extra-marital intercourse.[1]

During the consummation of their marriage and immediately following it they may spend the first few nights in the wife's mother's house, if the husband has no house ready. The parents leave the house and go to some other. As soon as the husband has built a new house he and his wife live in it. A new household has been added to the village, and the husband and wife take their places as part of the adult community.

SALIENT ASPECTS OF RITES

Significant aspects of the rites which mark the girl's entrance into adult society may be mentioned here. First, there is the role taken by the moieties in the exchange of food and in the playful fighting between the women. This playful fighting which occurs between the women of opposite moieties at the wedding rites, and also at pregnancy and birth rites (all concerned with some phase

[1] If the woman is a widow, or has passed puberty a year or more, there is no interval between rite and consummation.

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585 182 of sexual relations), might be considered symbolically as a dramatization of the fear of incest. The society is divided into two halves or moieties, and relationship within one moiety is considered as incest and the very worst crime. The fighting emphasized the dual division, and might give some relief to people who have a dread of the incest which would occur if the division was not observed. The comfort which many primitive peoples receive by dramatic symbols of their fears and desires has been pointed out by Professor Seligman.[1] The frequent exchange of food between the two moieties might similarly be a symbolic dramatization of the same dual division in the society.

The importance of the clan relatives is clearly seen in connection with the marriage payments. It is the groom's clan relatives who help him collect the payment, and the bride's clan relatives who receive it, with the exception of the bride's potential mates, who receive compensation. That the girl's clan plays the leading role in contributing to the feast is brought out clearly when her own father is paid by her mother for a pig. The significance of the clan is thus given overt expression.

And lastly, this occasion of the girl's coming of age and her marriage is a peculiarly feminine one. At the rites for her first menses the women are the main actors. The men merely assist in the preparations. At the final rites of marriage it is again the women who have the stellar roles, and although the men assist, and even participate in the dancing, they have no feast. The food is given to the women. At most of the rites in this society the feasts are exclusively masculine, with the women getting the left-overs. When the exception occurs, it therefore makes the occasion a significant one.

[1] Seligman, C. G., "Anthropological Perspective and Psychological Theory," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. LXII (1932), pp. 197-198, 201-203, and *passim*.

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and forty miles has provided a way of transportation which makes canoes unnecessary.

ORGANIZATION OF WORK

The work described in the preceding pages has been done both by individuals and by groups. The main occupations, gardening, fishing, cooking, and hunting, all require some form of co-operation. In the gardening it is the members of the immediate family, a man and his wife and children, who work together in the tilling of the ground. Each has his allotted task, the man the clearing of the ground, the woman the planting, etc. The group is enlarged when the man assists his wife's relatives in the clearing of the ground, or the woman works in her sister's garden, or a man calls on the men of the hamlet to help him build a fence. Fishing is also a communal occupation for the men, as is most of the cooking for the women. The size of the group will vary for both these occupations. In fishing it will depend upon the method used and the importance of the event for which the fish are being caught. In cooking, occasionally a mother and her daughter will prepare the evening meal alone, but more frequently it will be all the women of the hamlet, and if the preparations are for a big ritual feast all the women of the village and neighbouring villages will participate. House-building is also co-operative, male members of the family and hamlet helping each other. When the enclosure in which the boys are circumcised was built, all the men of the village helped and all the women cooked for the feast which followed. Members of the same clan help each other, particularly in the financing of the rites.

The organization of this work thus fits into the social structure of family, clan, hamlet, and village. Kinship and locality, two of the determining factors of the social structure, are equally important in setting the frame for the organiza-

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tion of work. The third determining factor, sex, acts in the same way, the sexual division of labour being most marked in its organization. The social organization thus provides the mechanism for the necessary co-operation, for it is kinship, locality, and sex which determine who participates in a given task.

The work is initiated to fulfil certain needs, such fundamental necessities as food and shelter being most important. Other needs not so strictly biological are those connected with ritual and social events, including the accumulation of food, the building of houses, and the making of carvings and masks.

The actual initiation of the work is by those who experience the need. In the communal or village work, connected with the *malanggan* and circumcision rites, it is the man or men who are making the *malanggans* for their dead relatives, and the clan relatives of the boys being circumcised, who initiate all the work connected with these rites. In a similar way it is the man whose house leaks, or whose garden fence needs to be rebuilt, who initiates the building, in which the members of his hamlet will cooperate.

The work is not without its stimuli. Work for one's self brings a reward in the fruits of labour: a catch of fish, a crop of taro, or a new house. Work for others receives payment. We have noted the feasts for the payment of workers on a new house or a garden fence. Women who have prepared food for a communal rite are given food in return. All services, magical and medical, are rewarded. Even those who dance at the mortuary rites and carry the corpse to the grave receive payment. Nothing is ever done for nothing in this community, and payment is one of the stimuli to work. Work by a large part of the male section of the village is aided by singing and festive decorations of the workers. In the building of the enclosure for the initiation of the boys the men's singing and their floral decorations were noted.

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Corresponding to these stimuli there is the sociability and camaraderie among the women who cook communally.

There is very little, almost no direction of work. The techniques are well known, and it is not necessary for anyone to give directions to scrape taro or thatch a roof. The work follows the traditional rules learned in childhood. A certain direction or organization occurs in fishing, when the man who sights the fish gives the call, but this could hardly be called bossing. This lack of leadership in communal undertakings is quite striking to the observer. One or two men act as masters of ceremonies and make the necessary speeches at these rites, as, for example, Sola and Buibui at the initiation rites at Ponatlege, but there was no one man or woman bossing the communal cooking preparations for these rites. They have been initiated by those most interested, and the work then follows along traditional lines. There is a similar lack of policing at the inter-village rites where hundreds of people are gathered together By some kind of mutual consent the crowd does not press unduly upon the clearing used as a stage, and are considerate of each other in their desire to see the rites. This holds for rites lasting several days and nights, when both onlookers and participants have had little sleep and are weary. I witnessed many such rites, and never did I see any pushing or quarrelling for advantageous places, such as marks similar crowds in our society.

The newly introduced Government work on the roads is in direct contrast with the native manner of working at their own occupations. All natives, male and female, are required to give three days a week to work on the road, mending the holes in it and keeping it in good condition. On these days the "Luluai," Government-appointed chief, blows his conch shell early in the morning to assemble the people. They come to the road in front of his house, the women standing or squatting (squatting on toes the usual position) in one group apart from the men.

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object) being paid for has operated here as in all other social and economic transactions. 438

SUMMARY

We have seen the economic structure as it functions within the framework of the social organization. The family, clan, moiety, village, and sex groups all act at certain times as economic units. The family tills the soil; the clan owns property, regulates inheritance, and assumes economic responsibilities for many important rites; it is through the moiety that the principle of reciprocity so actively functions; the village owns property and acts as an economic unit in certain undertakings; and sex is the most significant factor in regulating the division of labour. 182 511

The essentials of life are communally owned and fairly easy to secure. Since there is an abundance of land and no private ownership of it, and also no private fishing or hunting rights, only industry is required to secure food. The same absence of private property in land makes shelter an easy matter. The bush provides the material; the land is free; everyone knows the rudiments of house-building; and the assistance of relatives is readily secured for a slight compensation. Clothing practically did not exist in the past, and is very slight and of little significance to-day. There is, therefore, no problem in securing the fundamentals of food, shelter, and clothing. Yet there is private property: ornaments, implements of work, currency, pigs, knowledge (medical and magical), are all privately owned. There is wealth and there are rich men, but poverty does not exist. Moreover, everyone lives in the same style. The house, food, and general manner of daily living is the same for everyone, regardless of his amount of wealth. The importance of wealth is that it allows a man to make the elaborate rites for his dead ancestors, and so gain prestige for himself.

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182 Wealth is not hoarded, but instead is always being put in
54 circulation at the constant ritual feasts. And there is no
reason why wealth should be saved over any long interval.
Old age does not mean economic insecurity. For every old
[737 person is well taken care of by either his own children or by
888] classificatory ones. The old people, men and women, are the
most respected members of the community, and it is un-
thinkable that any one of them should be in want.

182 In this society of rich, but no poor, where only industry is
461 required to secure the essentials of life, one may ask, What
558 becomes of the lazy man? For as men vary in skill and intelli-
gence, so also do they vary in industry. In Lesu, if a man is
too lazy to work, he will not starve. His relatives will give
him food, and should they grow disgusted with him, other
members of the community will feed him. No member of
the village would go hungry, unless there was some general
famine affecting everyone. But while the lazy man will
have a place to sleep, and food to eat, and can even enjoy
life in his own way, he will be a man of no importance in
the community. He will have no influence in discussions; it
will be difficult for him to secure a wife (and the same applies
to a lazy woman securing a husband); he will not be able
to give big feasts; and he will have no prestige. In a society
largely motivated by prestige, this is a serious handicap.
Although the burden of the lazy man's support will be carried
by his family (immediate and extended) and by the com-
munity, if the family gets disgusted, he will remain a man of
no account, and will have no influence in the communal life.
Some of the abusive and insulting language to those who have
no wealth brings out the opinion in which they are held:

Umär atsuga ärup numka tsera: you are no good; you have no currency.

Umär atsuga ärup numka bul; you are no good; you have no pig.

These are the insulting taunts hurled in moments of anger,

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and show the position of a man who is merely willing to exist and to collect no wealth. The speeches of women at initiation and other rites about their lazy husbands give evidence of the same attitude. The impression is strengthened even more in the casual conversation and everyday life of the community. For instance, many people have discussed with me quite frankly the position of Ladawin, a young man who shows no inclination for work. It is freely predicted that he will not get a wife, and he is very obviously not looked upon as one of the coming men.

The economic organization is well integrated with the environment and the social structure, and it creaks less noticeably than the economic structures of many of our Western societies. Needs are provided for; there is no insecurity; individual skill and ability is appreciated; wealth is accumulated only to be redistributed again and to thus bring prestige. The underlying social forces—the principle of reciprocity, the desire for prestige, respect for the old, the kinship system—are the animating principles of the economic organization.

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the custodianship, the making, the care of them are in the hands of the men. 184

Of an esoteric nature also are magical spells. These are known only to the magicians, who are both men and women. The men, however, predominate in the art, and while there are women magicians (particularly in love magic), I heard of no women skilled in rain magic or black magic. The latter is the most secret of all magical knowledge, and surrounded with the most mystery.

With the exceptions just noted, knowledge is known to everyone, and it is small enough in content to make this easily possible.

KNOWLEDGE

The knowledge of practical pursuits, such as gardening, fishing, house-building, and hunting, has already been indicated in the description of the working of the economic organization. The long time (ten years) that the ground is left fallow, and the rudeness of the implements, the digging-sticks, for example, and the lack of variety in crops, indicates a not very extensive knowledge of agriculture. In the same way, the fact that houses have to be rebuilt every two years or so shows that house-building is not in the most efficient manner. Fishing is a lengthy process, involving the use of magic, the following of taboos, and also a certain degree of technique. In none of these occupations, so essential to life, are the quickest and most efficient methods used. Yet they are adequate under the circumstances. There is sufficient time and material to rebuild a house every two years. Gardens are productive enough to give the necessary food, and in the same way fishing and hunting bring in satisfactory returns. Food and shelter are attained without too much effort, even though the methods are based on a very incomplete knowledge of natural phenomena. 182

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which occurred shortly before my departure, when some old men were watching my servants pack a few *malanggans* I was taking back with me. I had explained that they would be carefully housed (in a museum), and that "my people," who had never seen these *malanggans*, would then know about them. After my explanation the old men very seriously urged me to tell these people who would look at the *malanggans* that they were not just carved, painted pieces of wood, but that I must make the people understand all the work and wealth that had gone into the mal ng of them—the large taro crops, the many pigs, all th *tsera*, the cooking for the feast, and other essentials of the rites. These, said the old men of Lesu, are the important things to remember about *malanggans*.

SUMMARY

The Lesu man has certain fundamental and universal problems to meet, and his knowledge, magic, and religion indicate how he meets them. The knowledge concerning natural phenomena and crafts, the dependence on magic to fill in the gaps of knowledge, the myths to account for origins, the beliefs in the supernatural to give him security, indicate that his mental processes are very similar to our own. Our knowledge is more complete, but that is just a matter of degree. We have recourse to prayer, psychologically kin to magic, when we need confidence. We too have our origin myths, embedded in such institutions as the Church. Likewise we have our religious beliefs, which fulfil the same function for us as they do for the Lesu natives. It would seem then that the dynamics of thinking is the same for these Melanesians as it is for us, and that the difference is only in the content.

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BASIC PRINCIPLES

182 183 Underlying these social behaviour patterns of Lesu appear to be certain fundamental principles, the most outstanding of which is the one of reciprocity. From the most elaborate economic transactions to the settlement of petty quarrels reciprocity is the dominant motif. Thus when Kaptan quarrelled with his wife's brother and received a blow on the chin from him, it was suggested that if Kaptan be allowed to give his brother-in-law a similar blow the quarrel would be ended. Ordinary quarrels are ended by an exchange of equal amounts of *tsera*. The reciprocal gift exchange has already been commented on in detail. Trading, in which no profit occurs, is also reciprocal in its action, in that, for example, a person is obligated to buy a pig from a man who had previously purchased one from him. All services, from house-building to sexual favours, must be paid for. For everything there must be a recompense.[1] This system of reciprocity makes for a nice balance in the workings of the society, and it might be correlated with the duality of structure, the moiety system. Or both these, the duality of structure and the principle of reciprocity, might be the expressions of a still more fundamental social law, which in turn may be linked with the biological divisions of the members of society into two sexes. Here in Lesu the two sexes complement each other socially as well as biologically, and competition between them does not exist. The division of labour and responsibilities between men and women makes for the same balance in their relationship that we find in trade when equal objects are exchanged.

[1] Professor Thurnwald in this connection says: "The idea of requital, like that of remuneration, appears to be one of the original reactions of mankind. When applied to a wrong inflicted, the result is the blood feud, and when applied to gifts the reaction takes the form of exchange or the development of trade" (Thurnwald, Richard, *Economics in Primitive Societies*, Oxford Press. In press.)

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There appears to be some kind of spontaneous and complementary duality which is expressed in various ways, through the moieties, in economic transactions, in the reciprocity underlying all social relations, and in the complementary nature, of relations (both social and sexual) between men and women. That this duality functions so freely in Lesu may be one reason for the relatively complete integration of society there.

As a mainspring of action the desire for prestige is most important. Without prestige a man (or a woman) in Lesu is like an uninhabited house. To have prestige among his fellows, a man makes the elaborate *malanggan* rites, and for the same reason he gives elaborate feasts on all the other ritual occasions. It is the desire for prestige that makes him obey the many social taboos and rules. To be gossiped about in a derogatory manner, to have it said that one has no wealth, that one has infringed even a minor aspect of the social code, is to bring disgrace. This aversion to even what appears as trifling but degrading gossip is well illustrated in the following incident. There is much talk in the village because Tsengali's pig has broken into Murri's garden and eaten much taro. Murri displays no particular anger, and appears undisturbed, but Tsengali is very much annoyed because of all the talk that the incident has occasioned. So he announces that he is going to Kabil, where his brother lives, to get a pig and give it to Murri to stop the talk. But Murri tells him that this would be foolish, "to eat a pig for nothing," and that Tsengali should not give him the pig. Instead Murri declares that the incident is ended, and that there should be no more talk. The affair is ended. It is interesting to note that in this incident it was the transgressor who was annoyed because of the blow to his prestige and not the offended man who had suffered a loss of taro.

At the same time, these men who are so eager for prestige disparage themselves and belittle their contribu-

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after Kawitti's death the chief, Ongas, one of those observing sleeping taboos, started off to another village about four miles away to see a relative. He returned in about half an hour, very much out of breath and quite scared because he had heard a low whistle, which he believed indicated the presence of Kawitti's ghost. He hurried home and did not leave the hamlet for several days. The fear is particularly active for several months after death and then diminishes, to be replaced by the fear of the ghost of the next person who dies. The ghost is never laid and the fear never completely absent. However, no emotion can persist with the same degree of intensity over any long period of time, and as the grief is spent and new interests come up, the fear of the ghost is put in the background. The situation which called up the ghost has been taken care of by certain rites and no longer exists. As the situation is shelved, so too is the ghost which accompanies it, even though there were no definite rites to accomplish this.[14]

THE FUNCTION OF RITES

The mortuary rites have a double function. They serve both to differentiate the groups of survivors and to provide a means of expression for their emotions. The various taboos set off one group of mourners from another and from the rest of the community. Food taboos set apart the chief mourners—the immediate family—from the others, and in the same way the sleeping customs and sexual taboos involved set off the extended family from the rest of the community. The taboo on dance rehearsals after the burial applies to the whole community. The importance of the taboo is in proportion to the degree of grief experienced by the survivors. It is obvious that food and sex are of more significance than dance rehearsals. Abstinence from eating taro and from sexual inter-

[14]An interesting psychoanalytic interpretation of the ghost has been suggested by Dr. George Daniels, to whom I am indebted for reading the manuscript and making several suggestions. The ambivalence of any close attachment is well known, *i.e.*, both love and hate would be a part of any deep attachment. In order to break the attachment both these emotional attitudes have to be detached from the object. The first (love) comes out in grief. The negative feeling comes out after the discharge of grief in the ritualistic mourning, in the form of fear, or a projection of their own feeling of guilt on account of the ambivalence of their attitude.

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course is practised only by the chief mourners and closest relatives, while everyone refrains from the dance rehearsals.

Turning to the second function—the ritual expression of emotion, we find these emotions to be, (a) sorrow over the loss of a close relative or friend, (b) sorrow due to economic loss, if the person is young, (c) fear of a ghost after the burial rites. The mourners may be classified according to the depth of their emotions. The parents, children, spouse, and close clan relatives grieve most intensely and the degree of wailing is consistent with the blood relationship of the survivor to the corpse. The exception is the spouse, who is not kin to the dead person, but is a member of the opposite moiety. Here the natural ties of affection are fully recognized, even though he is not a clan relative. But while it is appreciated that his sorrow may be deep, he is never classed with the clan relatives. His loss can be replaced, and everyone knows that after a decent interval he will take another wife. The loss of a member to the clan, however, cannot be replaced.

It is the clan relatives who bear the economic responsibility for the rites and who in so doing acquire additional prestige. This society is almost completely motivated by a desire for prestige, and the acquisition of it might well be regarded as partial compensation for the loss of the dead clan relative.

The chief mourners express their sorrow in wailing, their economic loss quite openly through bad temper and conversation, and the clan mourners receive a certain amount of compensation through increasing their prestige by giving feasts, making a *malaŋgon*, etc. The chief mourners also express their grief negatively by refraining, for about a month, from two of the most common acts of their daily life, eating taro and having sexual intercourse.

The survivors who are less deeply touched by the death, *i.e.*, the rest of the community outside of the clan relatives and consort, also wail, but their wailing is not prolonged and, in Biblical phrase, is more "weeping with those that weep." Their mourning seems to be somewhat in deference to those most bereaved and to allow the feelings of these to come to the climax at a ritualistic exhibition. It is they who spare the chief mourners the duty of washing the the corpse and lowering it into the grave.

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The ritual for expressing grief might be said to be exceptionally well adapted for the release of the emotion aroused by death. And the emotion is soon spent. There is no sorrowful brooding. The *malaŋgon* rites may be carried out years after the death, but they are not done in the spirit of sorrowful mourning for the dead, but to get prestige for the living. The rites might be termed a hygienic method for handling certain psychological tensions caused by death.

HORTENSE POWDERMAKER

3:Chinnery G, E-5 (1929)1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10

goods. Each year this economic bond between European and native residents grows stronger, and the two racial interests become more interdependent.

The native inhabitants pay taxes to the Government, and keep 150 miles of road between Kavieng and Karu in proper order for motor traffic, each village group being responsible for its own section.

These are some of the principal developments in the material life of the people as a result of European settlement. On the cultural and social life, chiefly due to mission influence, additional far-reaching changes have taken place, and these increase as the missions expand. Two mission organizations are now operating in the district—Roman Catholic and Methodist. The principal Roman Catholic stations are at Lemakot, Munuwai and Lemasong, and those of the Methodist Mission are at Maiom and Pinigindu.

The progress of European organizations has transformed the life of the natives, whose indigenous institutions have either died out or, like the *malagans*, are tottering to extinction with scarcely a hope of surviving the present generation. The people of coming generations will have to fit into the social and religious fabric being woven for them by the driving force of European industrial, religious and administrative control now thoroughly established in the district.

With the object of making the survey in question, I left Rabaul on Saturday, 23rd March, 1929, and on Monday, the 25th March, commenced work in the villages between Kavieng and Karu. Completing the preliminary census on the 11th May, I came back to Rabaul to tabulate my notes, and, this done, returned to the east coast villages, where I remained from the 1st June until the 26th June, investigating special phenomena indicated by the tables.

Thus the work was divided into two parts, firstly, an enumeration of the population in their villages, and, secondly, an investigation of the figures together with social and religious features seemingly of value to the issue.

A specimen of the form used in recording the names and demographic features of the inhabitants is appended. (Appendix 1.) In regard to the actual method, however, a generalized explanation is necessary.

The inhabitants live in small family settlements along the coast-line, excepting mountain and forest groups, who reside in the bush. Each settlement has its own small plot of land, clumps of coco-nut trees, and two or three living houses. They are scattered along the whole coast-line a few yards or 100 yards or so apart, according to the political boundaries and space available. A group of several family settlements forms a political division, which is administered by the Government with the aid of local natives of influence and repute, who are appointed Lulusi and Tul-tul and officiate under the supervision of the District Officer according to authority set out in the Native Administration

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121 accounting for it. He wrote, "We have here only another effect of the loss of interest in life which I have held to be so potent in enhancing mortality. The people say themselves: 'Why should we bring children into the world only to work for the white man?' " [30]

Pitt-Rivers has emphasized still more strongly the influence of psychological factors from another point of view and suggests that the destruction of cultural institutions such as magic, economic structure, etc., results in boredom or loss of the *joie de vivre*, which in turn might operate to exterminate a race.[31] He thinks that even though there be normal sexual intercourse, the woman might not conceive because her emotional life had been disturbed, which he would trace to the break up of the native culture through white contact.[32]

105 114 121 177 182 The writer of this paper would not deny the possible influence of these psychological factors when they were operative, but the point is that the psychological factors mentioned by Dr. Rivers and by Pitt-Rivers are not present among the people on whom this study was made and therefore cannot be adduced as a cause for their decline. The fundamental aspects of the native culture have not been broken up, and these people are not bored, nor have they lost their *joie de vivre*. Although there has been a fair amount of white contact, and cannibalism and warfare have been abolished by the mandated government, their kinship organization, economic structure, ritual and sexual life, are still actively functioning according to their traditional custom. The people are busy with their daily work (gardening and fishing) and with preparations for the many ritual feasts and dances. They flirt, marry, and have their *affaires du coeur* in a very happy, casual fashion and do not, as Dr. W. H. R. Rivers suggests, ask themselves why they should bring children into the world. They are, as far as can be observed, quite happy, decidedly not bored, and have a real interest in life.

177 The psychological factors mentioned by the two authors just quoted may be operative on the generation of children now growing up. Many of these have been to mission schools, where they are given the concept of shame in connection with sexual matters, particularly in regard to extra-marital intercourse, which is a very indigenous part of their culture. White contacts are increasing and it is probably only a matter of time before the native culture will be broken up. What the

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 104.
[31] Pitt-Rivers, G. H. L. F.—*The Clash of Cultures*, London, 1927, pp. 142-148.
[32] *Ibid.*, pp. 146-147.

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Other Customs centering about Food

There are various interesting customs which center around food apart from feasts or family meals. These may just be mentioned here as showing the important sociological rôle of food. Betrothal is consummated by the girl preparing some food for the man and their sitting down with the basket of food between them and eating together. In many folk-tales, when we are told that a man and a woman, or a man and two women, sit down and eat together, this expresses the fact that they are married. A woman never eats with her lover.

The remains of food are connected with black magic, and so one is careful never to leave any left-overs about.

Even the ghosts are concerned with food. After a successful fishing expedition a half taro and a small piece of fish is left on the liga for the ghosts of dead clan ancestors whose aid has been asked in fishing magic.

The prohibition of certain foods on particular occasions is the essential part of several taboos. The most important of these is the taboo against eating taro for certain relatives of a dead person over a prescribed period of mourning. During pregnancy a woman may not eat a certain fish. This is one with many bones, and it is thought that they would hurt the embryo child. A pregnant woman will be given a half of a baked taro by a woman who has had children. The latter eats the other half, and this act is believed to insure a successful delivery of the infant.

Food is the most frequent form of gift between husband and wife, between mother's brother and his nephew or niece, between brother and sister, and between friends. It is also an invariable mark of hospitality to offer food to a stranger.

Social Function

From the preceding description it is obvious that feasts in this society have other functions beside the satisfaction of physical hunger. Sometimes there is more than one feast in a day and the men then eat as a duty rather than because they are hungry. One day there were three feasts in near-by hamlets, and all attended by the same men. Two were connected with death rites, and one was to mark the occasion of an infant's cutting his first tooth. By the time the third feast was reached, the men were not hungry, but all ate.

Even the family meal, which has the very definite physiological function of satisfying hunger, has also the sociological rôle of uniting the various members. In a similar way the sentiments binding the society together are given collective expression at the feasts, although the very strong line of sex

5: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1932 OM10 New Ireland OM10
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demarcation is observed. The general rule for feasts is that the women cook and the men eat.[14] Now if a communal activity strengthens the cohesion of a group, the division of society into two groups on one occasion emphasizes the solidarity of each group. But since each of the two groups are partaking in the same rite, there is no real loosening of the sentiments which bind the whole society but rather a further integration of it. The same rites thus have a contradictory function, in that at them the society is united and at the same time divided on lines of sex.

SUMMARY

Feasts provide the occasions when the sentiments on which a society depends for its maintenance are given expression. The objects about which these systems of sentiments center are in New Ireland, as we have seen:

1. Important crises in the life history of the individual, such as pregnancy, birth, marriage, death, etc.
2. Trade—payments made for pigs and other things that have been sold.
3. Exchange of gifts between individuals and groups, wherein the important principle of reciprocity functions.
4. The privilege of women to make speeches about their husband's industry.
5. Maintenance of the individual's prestige.

About all of these—trade, gift exchange, reciprocity between moieties, crises in an individual's life, economic relationship between a man and his wife, prestige—systems of emotional tendencies are organized, and it is necessary according to the theory described in the beginning of the paper, for these systems to be maintained, strengthened, and transmitted from one generation to another. Feasts are a form of ritual which thus have the social function of impressing upon the individual the sentiments of his society.

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[14] At seventy-five of the eighty-five feasts I attended, only the men ate.